226 exclusively the little sardine-like fish, about five centimeters long, which are called akahuso; they are found in the lake in large numbers and are attracted by the light of the torch at night. Fishing is conducted from the dugout by two men of whom one handles the net and the other rows and maintains the burning of the long reed torch (ikimuri) which forms one of the main elements of the fishing equipment. This torch is actually a long rope, 20 to 25 centimeters thick, which consists of dry reeds tied together with banana bast and is made 10 to 20 meters long depending on the requirements. The enormous bundle of reeds is placed on the bottom of the dugout so as to protrude somewhat over the front of the boat; it is then lighted at the front end, and the boat is rowed out into the lake. There the boat is anchored by means of a stone fastened to a bast rope. The small fish then swarm toward the glare of the light and are caught in the hundreds and thousands by the net which is repeatedly thrown out and pulled in, [38] and they are emptied into the boat. The still smaller fish, umuschischja, and small crustaceans and other minute creatures are caught by means of a scoop net resembling our hand nets (No. 19, p. 426 and Plate 45).

251 These two types of small fish, akahuso and umuschischja, are spread out in a wide, thin layer in the space in front of and between the huts just as they have been taken out of the boat whether still alive or dead. They dry quickly in the sun and air.

[182] A vessel filled with water is placed in the middle; it is dedicated to Imana and is supposed to keep the god kindly inclined toward fishing (No. 19, p. 427). Moreover, according to van der Burgt,

[791] the Lake Barundi have a special magician whose job it is to insure successful fishing by means of all kinds of magic rites. The

262 small dried fish, which have a pretty silvery and golden iridescence

● 438 and do not taste at all bad, are very popular among the natives. They are also traded to the interior insofar as fish are eaten there, which is particularly the case in northwest Urundi. I once met people from Lake Tanganyika with large baskets full of such fish at the foot of the Russiga mountains, a three days' journey from the lake.

226 Every traveler gets a vivid impression of night fishing on Lake Tanganyika, much more so, in fact, than of the other methods

273 They usually obtain it[1] from the Bahutu by trading earthenware
[438] which they have made, although their women are quite adept at brewing beer. They also buy the bananas for it from the Bahutu since they themselves do not own any banana groves.
[563] The Batussi and the Bahutu often drink together but never in company with the Batwa. The latter may not even drink by themselves if a Muhutu or even a Mutussi is in the vicinity.

439 It hardly needs to be mentioned that in a country which is still not opened up to trade and commerce no imported alcohol or European spirits can be found.

276 Also, the smoking of hashish is unknown among the Barundi, although it is very popular among the neighboring Wanjamwesi and although hemp (urumogi) grows in certain districts of Urundi, even far into the interior (No. 19, p. 260). They are acquainted neither with the chewing of betel, which unfortunately has been introduced to large areas of East Africa by the Arabs and Indians, nor with any other stimulants except those mentioned above.

[63] Chapter 5

Games, Dances, Music

517 Like almost all other East African tribes, the children and adults of the Barundi are always ready for games (uwukini), dancing, and amusements. This is true above all of the Batussi who otherwise have nothing or little to do, but also it is true of the large majority of the Bahutu. Even the members of the depressed pariah class of the Batwa are ardent dancers.

857 Among the Batussi and the Bahutu many children partici-
524 pate in the games and dances of the adults. Here, as among most Negro tribes, children eight or nine years old are almost as mature as adults. Negro children, after they pass babyhood, never play with the same naïve absorption and gracefulness as our [European] children. There is a whole series of games especially for children and others especially for adults. "Playing

1 [i.e, the Batwa obtain beer. — Analyst]

502 vice versa. These dugouts also hug the shoreline so that it is possible to punt for the entire distance, which is faster than rowing. [74] It takes them five days to cover the distance between these two points which, measured in a straight line, are approximately 180 kilometers apart. At the present time they only travel at night since the Glossina palpalis, the [136] dreaded transmitter of sleeping sickness, swarms in many places on the lake during the daytime.

484 The provisions for such trips lasting several days are generally taken along from the point of departure. They usually consist of sweet potatoes which are simply piled on the bottom of the boat and boiled whenever the boats land at a resting place.

481 The lake dwellers learn how to swim (kuoga) when they are still children, but because of the crocodiles they do not go into the water very far. People seldom swim in the interior where the rivers have many crocodiles. The swimming stroke is the same among all East African Negroes: with one arm far outstretched, the swimmer throws himself from one side to the other, striking out with only one arm at each stroke.

2. Trade, Money, Weights and Measures

439 In the whole of Urundi, the only trade worth mentioning is in the Tanganyika district. For political reasons, the government has closed off the entire area of central Urundi to foreign trade and traffic. Only a limited number of traveling merchants are permitted. Thus, trade in this area is limited
438 chiefly to the exchange of local products among the natives. With the exception of salt, this trade is not carried on over long distances but only between neighboring communities.

443 In the Tanganyika district of Urundi markets (akaguriro) are held daily in many places due to the influence of the adjacent Congo State. In central Urundi, however, this useful institution is unknown except in the vicinity of missionary stations and at the new residency, Gitega. During the past years, however, in

443 spite of the sleeping sickness, there has been a marked increase in the number of Barundi from the interior visiting some of these markets on Lake Tanganyika and more trading trips by Tanganyika people to central Urundi to buy cattle hides and wax, which they then bring to Usumbura.

438 317 Among themselves the Barundi of the distant interior trade field produce for other produce or for goats, sheep, hides, bark-cloth, pots, iron hoes, etc. The latter items are produced mainly by the Batwa (p. 77). The only trade object transported over a long distance is salt which is not found anywhere in Urundi itself. Formerly it was for the most part imported from adjoining Uha, but at present it is sold in much better quality by the Gottorp saltworks on the lower Malagarasi River which is under European management. It finds its way to the interior by way of Usumbura (Plate 27a).

439 Formerly palm oil was the main trade commodity in the Tanganyika region (p. 53), but since all traffic and trade in the Tanganyika region has been paralyzed by the terrible sleeping sickness epidemic, the oil trade, too, has decreased considerably. The smaller portion of the oil goes to central Urundi, the larger portion is absorbed by Ujiji and the west shore of the lake which is part of the Congo state. Bananas, pombe beer, butter, fish, goats, and sheep are exported both to central Urundi and to Ujiji and the eastern Congo. The Congo region sends mainly caoutchouc, a little ivory, and cattle in exchange. By far the greatest portion of trade with the Congo area is carried out by smuggling. [75] While import and export is free in the German controlled area, Congo authorities have imposed large tariffs on imports and exports. The natives, however, are very adept at circumventing them. Most of the smuggled products are brought in on paths through the swamp thickets of the Ruzizi which are very difficult to control.

439 435 Only wax and cattle hides are exported from central Urundi. In exchange, beads and thick wire (iron, copper, brass) are the main imports, in addition to relatively little cotton material but much salt. In 1911 it was calculated that about 18,000 to 20,000 cattle hides, priced at eight rupees or the equivalent

296 this seems to be an art which they learned from the Congolese
[171] Wawira and Wabemba [Bembe] (No. 19, p. 577).

The Barundi are not familiar with the technique of weaving
[287] material for garments. They wear garments made of barkcloth
291 and hides, and only in recent times have they started to use
[177] European cotton fabrics.

Wood carving (uwuwasi) obviously ranks second to pottery,
322 weaving, and metalworking in a country with as few trees as Urundi. Most carving is done in the western mountain regions where there are still remnants of primeval forest with tall trees.
[438] From there these objects are exported to the almost treeless areas of the interior. The Batwa in particular are good wood
[462] carvers. As among the Bahutu and Batussi, only men engage in wood carving. Everyone makes his own ordinary wooden household objects, such as poles, sticks, pestles for pounding grain, hoe handles, knife handles, and similar objects, since they do not require any particular technical skill. Other woodworking that requires technical knowledge and experience, such as spear shafts, bows, arrows, quivers, wrist discs, milk pails, bellows, shields, and grain mortars, is done by specialists who exchange or sell their products (Plate 52). Moreover, a characteristic feature of the wood carving of the Barundi and Banjaruanda and one which Stuhlmann calls attention to for all African wood carving (No. 32a, p. 28) is that objects are always made from a single piece of wood. Products made of several pieces of wood are extremely rare; both in Urundi and in Ruanda the only ones are knife and dagger sheaths consisting of two flat boards tied
322 together. A combination of wood carving and plaiting tech-
411 niques is found in one type of shield (ingabo) whose oblong wooden
285 plate is covered [81] with plaited work consisting of strips of fig bark and rattan, leaving only the boss in the center of the shield uncovered (Plate 53). This type of shield is extremely rare in Urundi. In Ruanda there are more of these shields covered with plaited work -- ascribed by Stuhlmann to the kulturkreis of the Bahima (No. 32a, p. 30) -- but, nevertheless, they occur only sporadically. They are numerous only near the Uganda border.

326 rings, etc., which are customary in the country. The Bahutu and the Batwa use the same technique, but apparently the Batwa are the more adroit blacksmiths. In Urundi blacksmiths do not form a special guild, but in some families the craft is passed on from one generation to the other. Blacksmiths live [554] with the other Barundi, and because of their craft they are highly respected. They are professional craftsmen who sell [84] their merchandise, but as in Ruanda, they often also engage in agriculture on the side. [Fig. 17 appears here in the original text.]

325 [348] The work shop (uruganda) is a small round hut, open on all sides. In its center a hollow in the ground contains the [372] charcoal fire. Since blacksmiths need charcoal for their craft and since there are few trees in this country, they mostly have their huts not far from the remains of forests or the bushes along the rivers. Charcoal from the peripheral mountains wrapped [438] in long bundles of banana leaves is sold in the interior. Next to the fireplace there are bellows, either vessel or bowl bellows (umuvuba), shaped like a large, double wooden spoon, over each of whose ends a goatskin is stretched loosely (No. 2 of Plate 45). A wooden stick is tied to the center of each skin; it serves as a piston whose upward and downward movements press the air from the vessel into the end of the pipe. The blower stands or squats behind the bellows holding a piston in each hand which he alternately moves up and down quickly. The same type of bellows is used in Ruanda where it is also used for blowing the smelting furnaces. In Urundi (according to Stuhlmann's small map in No. 32a, p. 62), still another type is said to exist, the tube or bag bellows; yet I have not been able to find out anything about it. The more common vessel bellows just described is carved from a single block of wood and opens into a short, funnel-shaped clay pipe which is placed directly among the hot coals and keeps them glowing. From time to time water is sprinkled on the glowing pile of coal.

[85] On the other side of the fireplace there is a hard stone which serves as an anvil (Fig. 17). The piece of iron which is to be forged is pushed into the glowing coals with a wet, clamp-like piece of wood or with a pointed iron pin, and it is pulled

[Text continues on page 128]

192

198

Umumkari	Umugore	Woman
Umwere wa giti	Umwana	Child

The cabalistic language of the initiates is not exactly refined. It would hardly be decent to list all the terms in their vocabulary.

Various Impositions on Subjects and Clans

644 Aside from the majordomos, stewards, and couriers (intumwa), one also finds at court the innumerable caterers to His Majesty.

It may be said as a general statement that everyone works for the king: architects, professional builders, weapon makers, blacksmiths, mat manufacturers, basket weavers, potters, tanners, tailors of colobus pelt garments, furnishers of scented wood (3), veterinarians,

[824]
[234]

3. The scented wood umugehsi, when converted into shavings called imibavu, is used to perfume butter.

At the time of the last volcanic eruption in 1912, the king had large quantities of this wood burnt to purify the air, which was tainted by sulphurous vapors.

bleeders of /457/ cows, butchers, and other artisans of all types.

224 644 Even the official "rat catchers" come regularly to carry out their duties, like the members of other corporations. Instead of being designated by the ordinary name of "trap setters" or "rat catchers," they are known by the euphemistic term of "sons-in-law" (abakwe), who come to marry (ngo baje kulongora). This is done so as not to arouse the suspicion of the rats when those important persons come to court.

237 272 438 The honey which the king and dignitaries use frequently in the form of hydromel, their favorite beverage (inkangaza), comes chiefly from the mountainous regions rich in flowers and trees.

438 651 The inhabitants of the Bugoyi, Mulera, Bussigi, Bgisha, Bufumbiro, etc., formerly supplied this substance as a tax under the name of umutsama (plural imitsama).

438 463 The people of the Kinyaga, dwellers on the shores of Lake Kivu, made strong mats (ibisunyu) of lake reeds for the court.

People from the Bgishaza, Kingogo, Budaha, etc., made litters, baskets, and hampers of various shapes because they lived close to the forest where the materials essential to their craft are to be found.

463 651 Dressing cases, combs, butter jars, dishes, spoons, pitchers, pipes, tobacco pouches, bows, arrows, shields, quivers, spear shafts, clubs, scabbards, cases for knives and drinking tubes, drums, chairs, etc., were all made by professionals who paid their taxes in this fashion.

644 In accordance with an immemorial custom, the king chose himself a wife from each of the following Hamitic clans: /458/ Bega, Basinga, Bakono, Baha, and sometimes also among the Bagessera, not to speak of those who were referred to him on account of their mental or physical qualities. He contracted matrimonial alliances with the neighboring princes of the Uswi, Karagwe, and Bunyabungu, but no son of those foreign princesses, to our knowledge, ever sat on the throne. Few royal wives managed to retain their husband's good favors indefinitely. Many of them were demoted to the rank of servants (abaja), if not sent back to their families (1).

1. This was the best they could hope for, since then they regained their complete freedom.

Some chiefs were bound by custom to send regularly to court some little girls, who were raised among the queen-mother's followers. The lot of those children was a rather unhappy one. Some of them when grown were chosen as servants or as symbolic wives offered to the spirits of dead kings (2).

2. Cf. Chapter VII below under "Funeral Rites."

[Lie., Heavy, -Analyst]

438 Exchange of goods has little importance in itself, and a financial system which reveals the relationship of individual goods to each other has not been developed.

With the exception of foodstuffs, objects of trade are iron hoes, tobacco, cotton cloth, skins, salt, brass and copper wire, glass beads, various housewares, weapons, and, with certain restrictions, women and cattle.

436 Of these goods, especially iron hoes, beads, and cattle have become the standards of value. Individual standards, however, are applied according to the goods appraised, and there is as yet no fixed relationship of the different units of value to each other.

The hoe is the general unit of value for larger objects. Thus, they speak of a good goat for two to four hoes, or of the rental for cultivating a field for two seasons as equivalent to one hoe, etc.

At the time of my visit gilded glass beads the size of a pea were used as a small unit of value. These substitute for the cowrie shells common around Lake Victoria and are about equal to them in value. Other kinds of beads were also accepted in payment. The small red sam-sam, so popular in Urundi, were not accepted in Ruanda. Somewhat larger blue beads and white ones of the same diameter but twice as long come from Kisenyi. They are considerably lower in value (about one half) than the gilded pea-sized beads. In Kissaka and Nduga I was able to carry out transactions using small white beads, two to three millimeters in diameter. On the other hand, the round bluish-green beads eight millimeters in diameter were not accepted anywhere. Formerly they were said to have been highly prized throughout the country.

The gilded, pea-sized beads, like the cowrie shells which have about the same value, are strung, 50 to 100 on a string and serve as units for counting. The long strings are called runigi rulerule, "large necklace"; the small ones, runigi rugwisi, "small necklace."

Pieces of brass or copper wire are sometimes also used as measurements of value. The unit of measure for copper wire is ntamba, the maximum distance between the tips of the first and third fingers.

439 Aside from trade in hides, there is an old, respectable foreign trade. Iron hoes are imported from the Congo state and salt from Lake Edward. These are paid for chiefly in goats. Goats are also used to pay for ivory and rubber smuggled out of the Congo.

438 Internal trade consists above all in the exchange of local products between producer and consumer. Barter is carried on in food, iron, clay products, sheep and goats, salt, etc.

The people of Issawi get their salt from Njaruguru. It is brought there from Urundi. They buy their hoes in Mukinjaga. This province does not manufacture them; they are imported from Bunyabungu. The northern provinces get their iron from Bgisha and their salt from Katana on Lake Edward where salt from Kagwe is sold in large quantities. Salt is also prepared within the country, in Mulera, and, according to Dr. Kandt (1), in a

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 513.

southern bay of Lake Kivu. I do not know whether Busindja salt (2)

[113]

2. Capus, R.P., "Eine Missionsreise nach Uha and Urundi [A Missionary Journey to Uha and Urundi,]," Petermanns Mitteilungen 1898, p. 185.

which is obtained in Kigoma west of [163] Mumurumba on the southern border of Ujungu, reaches Ruanda.

Copper is imported in small amounts from Urundi and in larger amounts from Busindja in payment for ivory. Goats are exported from Mulera, Kissaka, and Njaruguru. Sheep are exported from Mulera. Mukinjaga produces the prettiest mats. The colored mats of the Batutsi are made in Nduga. Bamboo baskets are made in Bwischascha, Bugoye, and Mulera. Ndorwa exports otter skins. The most beautiful spears and the best arrows are made at Mount Ndisa. All these goods are also traded within the country.

438 484 This trade is conducted by native middlemen who, in contrast to foreign traders (bachuruzi), are known as bagenza. They

438 often set out on journeys lasting several days to visit customers
484 and distant markets. They handle the trade between Mulera, Nduga, and Katana on Lake Edward, and their chief items of exchange are sheep and goats, iron, salt, and tobacco. The Bagoye handle trade between Bugoye and Bunyabungu and exchange large quantities of hoes for goats from Mulera.

123 The Bagoye are unprejudiced traders. For example, when they saw me collecting skulls there, they brought me some to buy. However, no one had the courage to touch a skull. They carried it either on a stick or wrapped in a banana leaf. It was a boy of eleven who first had the idea of demanding payment for skulls. Others followed, even adults, when they saw that the boy was well paid. In a short time they brought in over 200 skulls.

We must point out, however, that not everyone was enthusiastic about these transactions. After more careful investigation, it was discovered that all the skull collectors were people of the lower classes. They were bagaragu (1) of the others and orphans

1. Clients.

who had been taken into individual households as semi-slaves.
[626] After a few days, however, skull collecting stopped altogether, since the boys of the mission refused to eat with anyone who had collected skulls. When this news spread, I could not get any more skulls, and the last collector was thrashed.

The people were very much interested in knowing how much was paid for skulls in Europe.

567 Even today it is said that human beings are exported from Ruanda, not as voluntary emigrants and transient workers, but as slaves. I could find out little about this obscure problem. Since wives [164] are bought, it is very difficult to draw the line between a purchased slave and a purchased wife. In Kissaka the story goes that the Bassuwi come in large numbers to buy women and that they stay in Lukira. They are also said to re-sell the women in Tabora.

Dr. Kandt (1) says that there is a regular slave trade in the

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 435.

482 In the north high, cone-shaped bamboo baskets are used to
445 carry food and charcoal. They are carried on the head on a
286 cushion. Small packages are also often made of banana leaves. These packages are generally wedged between three branches, bamboo stalks, or small bunches of millet straw. In this way they can be held with one hand. Packages are more often used in the south. There, small items and toilet articles are packed for traveling in wide, low baskets made of small sticks, with cone-shaped lids. These are simply placed on the head.

Beer and water are carried in earthen pots with plaited wrappers and covered with banana leaves.

202 In a discussion of the means of communication in Ruanda we must not forget to mention the native telegraph. Drum signals are used to a moderate extent. The king summons his warriors with drums when there is impending danger, but general information is shouted from hill to hill in a particular way, so that Nyanza is always well informed about what goes on in the country. There is news [168] of every European traveler of every cattle theft at the border, and of every sign of unrest throughout the country. The news travels quickly from hill to hill until it reaches the capital. The news service is so good that one could assume there are special persons who are obliged to carry out their duties of signaling promptly.

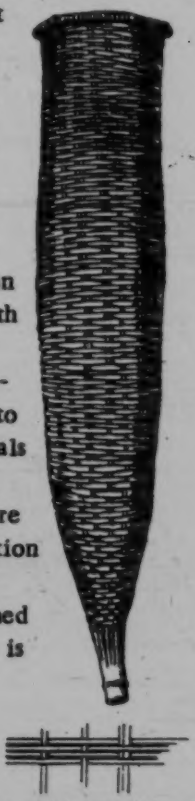

Fig. 54. Pack Basket for Carrying and Storing Food. (1/12 actual size. III E 13688. 140 centimeters high.)

487 Arteries of Communication. In conclusion we shall list briefly
438 the chief traffic and trade routes of Ruanda.

1. The path from Bukoba, via Kafuro, Kissaka, and Bugessera, to Nduga is the route along which hides are transported from Ruanda

487 to the Uganda railway. It seems that most of the cotton cloth and
438 beads that one sees in Ruanda are also brought this way. Trade along this route is carried on chiefly by Indians from Kafuro, assisted by

[445 285]

Fig. 55. Traveling Basket from Ruanda. (1/8 actual size. III E 6986. 84 centimeters high.)

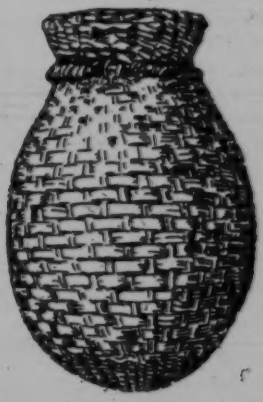

Fig. 56. Pot with Woven Wrapper, Mulera. (1/8 actual size. III 13746. 50 centimeters high.)

people of Kahigi. I reached this route on my trip from Nyanza by Lake Mohasi to Nsasa in Njakagungu, a day's journey south of the lake. On the way I met a trading caravan that exchanged cattle for its ten loads of cheap cotton material. This new traffic artery was formed to make a connection with the Uganda Railway.

2. The above route has cut off the old way from Tabora, via Ussuwi and Kissaka, to Nduga and robbed it of its former importance. [567] It is said that now this route has a branch along which the Bassuwi trade in women flourishes. It was along this route that Count Von Götzen entered the country, the first European to do so.

[169] 3. The route from Nduga via Mukinjaga to Bunyabungu is the export route for sheep and goats which are exchanged for iron. Along this route are traded the Mukinjaga mats, well-known throughout Ruanda.

4. The route from Nduga, via Mulera and Ufumbiro, to Katana is the salt route, along which salt is transported south and sheep and goats north. From Lukara's settlement on the Muhawura, traders without packs reach Katana in four days and return, laden with salt, in six days.

5. A branch of the latter route runs from Nduga to Bugoye, Kishari, and Lake Edward, and this is the way salt is imported from Lake Edward and iron from the Congo state.

6. Another route, important for iron hoes, is that running from Kishari to Bugoye, Mulera, and Ruweruka, from which the route between Bugoye and Kissaka branches off. The bridge of the Ruasa Mission is a very convenient spot from which to observe traffic with Ruweruka.

7. The Ruzizi route connecting Kisenyi and Ischangi with Tanganyika (Usumbura) is of greatest importance for contraband goods from the Congo state. In this roundabout way ivory and rubber reach Tabora and the railway.

[170]

Chapter 8

Clothing, Ornaments, and Weapons

Clothing. In the clothing, ornaments, and weapons of Ruanda a mixture of the style peculiar to the Forest Bantu and characteristic elements from the eastern steppes is evident. Thus, we find both barkcloth and skins used for clothing, anklets made of grass along with wire spirals, and East African round bows with strings made of tendons beside composite bows with strings of bamboo strips. The East African elements are predominant and more apparent, the western elements more or less in the background. The material culture faithfully reflects historical events, and this can be substantiated with anthropological evidence.

In view of this, we can easily understand why skins are of prime importance in the clothing of the Banyaruanda. Barkcloth which they are unable to prepare as well as in Kiziba or in Buganda, for example, is of secondary importance. In his ceremonial

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

[p.89]

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC PRODUCTION

As we mentioned earlier, it was by land cultivation and cattle rearing that the Ruanda satisfied their fundamental subsistence requirements. Consequently land, cattle, knowledge of agricultural and cattle-breeding techniques, implements, and ability to work were essential in the economic process of production.

Ruanda economy was primitive in the sense that every rugo[1] was a unit which had to produce practically all that was necessary for the subsistence of its members. None of these units concentrated on certain crops and obtained other foodstuffs by exchange. Every family head was a producer. What access had he, then, to the different factors of production?

Knowledge of agriculture and cattle-rearing techniques was part of the common heritage of every Ruanda. The Hutu were more expert agriculturalists than the Tutsi, and though some Tutsi were probably more versed in cattle-rearing any Hutu had the knowledge necessary to a tiller and a herdsman. Equipment was not very elaborate, and hoes and bill-hooks were not scarce.

Access to the other factors of production, land, cattle, and labour, was more restricted. We shall now consider what were the opportunities of the individual family head from that point of view.

I. LAND TENURE

When Ruanda are asked who is the owner of the fields and pastures, some answer it is the king, others the land chief or the cattle chief, others the family head or the lineage head. All of them are right, which means that the question is wrongly phrased

The Ruanda did not conceive of ownership as a private and exclusive right to the various uses to which a thing may be submitted. They regarded each of the uses as the object of a particular right. It was not thought necessary that one person should be endowed with the sum of the rights affecting one object. On the contrary, it was usual that different persons could claim

1. [rugo: The basic dwelling unit or compound; cf. p.20--analysf]

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

and Tutsikazi are tall, dignified and elegant; they know how to give the impression of great control, of intelligence and of refinement. Hutu and Hutukazi are plainly farmers, short and sturdy, clumsy, made for work, and they seem to be vulgar, stupid, incapable of controlling their emotions or of speaking well. Nothing has so far been said of the poor Twa: like the Rundi, we have forgotten them. The Twa, pariahs, are, say the Rundi, without shame. They eat anything, they employ bad language. It is necessary to pay them for the pots their women make, for no Rundi will participate in economic exchanges of gifts and services or in social relations with them. We shall see further on that the stereotypes of superiors and inferiors according to caste can be used also in describing all other superior-inferior relationships.

To complete the description of the hierarchical order of Rundi society, it is necessary to include the kinship system. The familial hierarchy has the same pattern as the social hierarchy. All benefactors are called *umuvyeyi*, parent. The *mwami* is like a benevolent father, it is said, who likes the Rundi, his children. The nursing mother is the symbol of feminine generosity. The best way to thank a benefactress is by means of the formula: I am a nursing child at your generous breasts, or alternatively: you are to me as a freshened cow. The herders sometimes argue about the relative superiority of women and cows; both sources of milk appear to have their partisans.

Whatever the position of an individual in the social hierarchy, he will also have his place in the familial hierarchy. The head of a patrilineage, prince or pariah, is at the summit of the familial hierarchy. He is the *mukuru*, the highest, the oldest by rank, though not necessarily by chronological age. He speaks first, he drinks first, he must be respected and obeyed by his brothers, his sons, and the women of the patrilineage. The household consisting of a man and his wife and children is the smallest independent unit of Rundi society. There, the father of the family is *nyene rugo*, the master of his household. His children and his wife—if he is polygamous, his wives—owe him respect and obedience. Addressed in the familiar by his superiors, the father of the family addresses his inferiors in the familiar, in his capacity as a patriarch of almost absolute power. His wife kneels before him when she offers him his gourd of beer, and his child kneels before him to receive his blessing. (The Old Testament comes inevitably to mind at the sight.) Sons receive a part of their father's property as their inheritence not later than the time they receive a wife but are all their lives subjugated to their father's authority. The father chooses one of his